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THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

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# TRACT INDEX

AND

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

Nos. 1 to 139.

CONTAINING

- I. Abstract of Contents of the Tracts still in print.
- II. Index of Contents.
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NOVEMBER 1908.

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LONDON:

THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 3 CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND, W.C.

# CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ.

## I.—SOCIALISM AND GENERAL PROBLEMS.

No. 5. **Facts for Socialists.** 1887. Eleventh Edition, Revised, 1908.

This tract gives references to reliable authorities for the facts most often needed by Socialist speakers and writers.

The national income is £1,920,000,000; or £185 per adult man. It is all produced by the workers by hand or brain. The idle rich live on the work of others. £310,000,000 is paid in rent; £390,000,000 in interest. When the rich work, they do so under favorable conditions. £490,000,000 is paid in profits and salaries. The manual-labor class takes the remaining £730,000,000. Rich and poor: their relative numbers and condition discussed. Their material interests are opposed. How the poorest live and how they die. Infant mortality and overcrowding figures: 18 per cent. of children of the upper class, 36 per cent. of those of the tradesmen class, 55 per cent. of those of the workmen class die under five years. The poor abhor the workhouse; yet over a million receive relief on one day, over two and a half millions during the year. The remedy is the use of rent and interest for public purposes. Some steps have already been taken in that direction.

No. 51. **Socialism True and False.** By SIDNEY WEBB. 1894.

It is suggested that the decline of Philosophic Radicalism in the third quarter of the nineteenth century left no body of systematic political thought in England. The Socialist task is to build this up for a new generation. To this end it is necessary that Socialists should clear up their ideas, and distinguish between sound and spurious forms of Collectivism. "The first step to getting what we want is a very clear and precise knowledge of what it is we want." The fallacies of such ideals as Utopia-founding, industrial government by Trade Unions, co-operative production by self-governing workshops, and land in peasant proprietorship are examined. It must be recognized that machinery and the great industry have come to stay. Socialist schemes must aim, not at discarding these, but at placing them under the control of the whole community. The one hope of successful Socialist propaganda lies in the possession of exact knowledge and clear ideas. Only by this means is the practical transformation of England into a Social-democratic Commonwealth possible.

No. 69. **The Difficulties of Individualism.** By SIDNEY WEBB. 1896.

A constant evolution of society is now universally recognized. The question is not *whether* but *how* change shall come. Thus, the characteristic feature of this age is not evolution, which is of all time,

but a consciousness of evolution : hence the importance of social ideals. The abstract principles of the eighteenth and nineteenth century economists have proved untenable. The main difficulties which Individualism fails to solve are those connected with the administration of industry and the distribution of wealth, at present resulting in the poverty of four-fifths of the population through the abstraction of rent and interest from the total social product. The law of rent cannot be escaped. The increase in population does not cause this poverty. Individualists tacitly recognize the fact, but they hold that any equitable economic reorganization of society is impossible. But the "unborn" have no rights against the permanent welfare of the community, and no living proprietor can possess a vested interest in the existing system of taxation. Hence the change can be quite equitably brought about by an increase of taxation on unearned incomes and a gradual growth of collective ownership, resulting in a diminution of the present wrong production of commodities and the consequent degradation of personal character. This will bring, by democratic administration of industry, the solution of the inconsistency of the industrial dependence of the politically free worker.

**No. 7. Capital and Land.** 1888. Seventh Edition, Revised, 1908.

No clear economic distinction can be drawn between land and capital. Land owes its value largely to labor : partly to general labor and partly to labor specially bestowed upon it. In England industrial capital is mainly created by wage-workers, who get nothing for it but permission to create, in addition, enough subsistence to keep each other alive. Its immediate appropriation by idle proprietors and shareholders, whose economic relation to the workers is exactly the same as that of the landlords, goes on every day under our eyes. Four-fifths of our national wealth consists of instruments of production. Two-thirds of it is owned by persons worth more than £10,000; while that owned by wage-earners averages only £23 per head. In consequence, half the wealth produced is paid to the capitalist as rent and interest. Poverty, with all its attendant evils, is the result. Land nationalization is only a partial remedy. The capitalist will draw tribute as long as he exists. The administrator of capital is now almost distinct from its owner. His salary, therefore, is not a part of interest. As "saving" is necessary to society, the saver should be recompensed ; but as industrial capital is always wasting away, he should not get a perpetual annuity from it.

**No. 15. English Progress towards Social Democracy.** By SIDNEY WEBB. 1892.

The progress of Democratic Collectivism during the past generation is an historical fact : its principle is supported by economic science. Investigation of the record of human progress shows one main economic characteristic underlying society, the struggle for surplus product, which has always gone to the class possessing social power. The most important means of appropriating surplus product

is in the organization of labor, co-operation increasing productivity. The laborer's share of produce is always largely determined by his political condition : he, as slave, obtaining nothing but bare maintenance ; as serf, rendering unpaid labor to his lord ; as a landless free laborer, remaining dependent upon the capitalist class, which, in alliance with the favored set of educated workers, comprising only one-fifth of the population, appropriate more than two-thirds of the aggregate product. An examination of such proposed remedies as Trade Unionism, Co-operation, and Christ-like unselfishness proves them to be inadequate. The only solution is the political evolution of the workers, supplanting unrestrained private ownership by Collectivism. Many successive inroads have already been made into private ownership. The steady increase in the municipalization of industry and the progress of collective ownership foreshadow the termination of private control over the means of production.

**No. 121. Public Service versus Private Expenditure.** By Sir OLIVER LODGE. 1905.

Public wealth is wealth belonging to a community or corporate body, to be administered as "corporate expenditure." At present much thought is expended on earning money, but little on spending, though that is really the more difficult task, and demands much thought if it is to be really useful and beneficial. Part of public service consists in determining wise expenditure. Some private expenditure is necessary, and much is luxurious, but none is economical. Combined expenditure achieves a greater result, for the individual as well as for the community. The objects of thrift are (1) provision for sickness, old age, and dependants ; (2) increase of power. Wealth inevitably results in increased power, whether it belong to an individual or to a corporation. Public expenditure of such a kind as conduces to the well-being of a community, ceases to be debt and becomes capital ; hence the economy of well-spent rates. At present the National Government, though it has to spend enormously in unprofitable ways, is miserably poor for good purposes. Public bodies should realize that inequality of payment results from inequality of ability ; they should not economize in salaries, but should see that service is rendered for income received.

**No. 108. Twentieth Century Politics.** By SIDNEY WEBB. 1901.

It is suggested that "Liberalism" has done its work. It has released society from governmental machinery derived from feudalism, and set us free to build anew. We are conscious nowadays that we are not merely individuals, but members of a community. This Liberalism fails to realize, hence its essentially "atomic" proposals, and its attitude towards the Empire. But Conservatism lacks any coherent policy. The wise policy is one of National Efficiency ; involving the abolition of sweating, and the enforcement of a national minimum—in education, sanitation, leisure and wages. There are eight millions of human beings worse housed, washed and watered

than our horses. The neglect of the Local Government Board to enforce the fulfilment of existing Public Health Acts causes more deaths, each year, than the most calamitous of our wars. This must be remedied, and the standard of life raised. The methods to be employed. Grants in aid. The urgent need of poor law reform, The Education Acts require to be adequately enforced. Such a policy of National Efficiency needs also to be applied to the War Office, to the Budget, to local taxation, to the drink trade, and to the House of Commons itself.

**No. 45. The Impossibilities of Anarchism.** By G. BERNARD SHAW. 1893.

The Individualist Anarchist, basing his theory on the principle that "Labor is the measure of price," demands *laissez-faire*, and urges us to destroy the money monopoly, the tariff monopoly, and the patent monopoly, and to enforce only those land titles which rest on personal occupancy or cultivation. "Then," he asserts, "the social problem of how to secure to each worker the product of his own labor will be solved simply by everyone minding his own business." This position is untenable, as it takes no account of the economic advantage of one site over another. "Competition everywhere and always" fails to circumvent rent whilst the land is held by competing occupiers who are protected in the individual ownership of what they can raise from their several holdings.

Communist Anarchism presents the problem of how the producers of communally enjoyed articles are to be paid. Could men, trained under our present system, be trusted to pay for their food scrupulously if they could take it for nothing with impunity? Clearly, if they did not so pay, Anarchist Communism would be bankrupt in two days. Also the economic difficulties fatal to Individualist Anarchism are not entirely removed by Communism. Some of them are: but the difficulty of the economic advantage of one site over another remains. Communism must grow out of Collectivism (*i.e.* Socialism), not out of anarchic private enterprise.

Anarchists fear the subjection of the individual to the majority; but this is exactly what happens under the present régime: Anarchism provides no escape. The remedy is State Socialism. The State will be used against the people by the classes until it is used against the classes by the people.

**No. 113. Communism.** By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1902.

In this lecture William Morris attempts to reconcile the views of the various sections of the Socialist movement. He points out that the machinery of Socialism is of value only in so far as it leads to Communism, *i.e.*, a society of practical equality. This ideal must be kept before the minds of the workers in order that they may not rest content with a mere increase of prosperity under their present masters without real equality of condition. Communism—a state of society in which everyone would have the opportunity of satisfying all his reasonable needs without robbing any other citizen—is the



completion of Socialism : any other state of society is grievous and disgraceful to all belonging to it. The lecture ends with an appeal to Socialists, since their aim is so great, to be at peace amongst themselves, that they may the better make war upon the monopolist.

**No. 1. Why are the Many Poor?** (Leaflet.) 1884.

A short, direct appeal for the socialization of capital and the abolition of poverty.

**No. 38. Why are the Many Poor?**

A translation of the above into Welsh.

**No. 13. What Socialism Is.** (Leaflet.) 1890.

A brief description of the aims of Socialism, with figures of riches and poverty.

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## II.—SOCIALISM AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS.

**No. 128. The Case for a Legal Minimum Wage.** 1906.

Legislative efforts to fix educational, sanitary and housing minima have largely failed, owing to the insufficient remuneration of the workers. In public contracts sweating is prevented by wages clauses. The old economic objections to a minimum wage are fallacious. The effect of stopping competition in wages is to concentrate it on efficiency. Wages laws have succeeded in New Zealand and Victoria ; but in both colonies the minimum wage is based on what the industry will bear, and "the wage should be calculated on what the worker requires for physical health and efficiency, and not on what the trade will bear," the rate being equalized for local variations in cost of living. The minimum wage for a woman would be lower than that for a man, but widows with families should be entitled as of right to help from the public funds. A minimum wage will not help the unemployables, but it will cut off the constant supply of these produced by poverty and physical deterioration. Local bodies should determine for their districts the monetary equivalent of the real minimum wage. It would be gradually but systematically applied by Trade Boards to each trade, beginning with the worst trades. The population would become less concentrated, the workers would be encouraged to combine, and the national dividend increased.

**No. 135. Paupers and Old Age Pensions.** By SIDNEY WEBB. 1907.

An examination of the possibility of making pauperism a ground of exclusion from old age pensions.

Of existing paupers over 65, many reached that age before they became paupers. Relief to the aged has, in many Unions, deliberately been made as little deterrent as possible. To exclude these would be unjust, and would not really reduce the cost to the nation.

As to the proposal to exclude those who had received poor law relief within the preceding twenty years, it would be unfair to enforce such a condition without notice; it ought not to be enforced for twenty years. There is no exact record of paupers; it would therefore be impossible to discover who was disqualified. The law and the practice as to what is poor relief differ in different parts of the kingdom, *e.g.*, in Ireland, in the metropolis, in provincial England. In Scotland there is no relief of the able-bodied; hence all poor law relief is "medical" relief. Eligibility might depend on the date of death of a lunatic relative. A wife might be disqualified, though she cannot prevent her husband making her a pauper. Thirty per cent. of pauperism is due to widowhood.

It is submitted that it is both politically impossible and administratively unworkable to make either past or present pauperism a disqualification for an old age pension. The increase in apparent cost when paupers are included is counterbalanced by the relief in rates.

Bibliography of old age pension schemes, etc.

**No. 75. Labor in the Longest Reign.** By SIDNEY WEBB.  
1897.

It is suggested that 1837 marks almost the lowest depth of degradation of the English rural population, and a very low level in the condition of the miner and mill-operative. Compared with this low standard, wages in 1897 were generally higher and worth more, but the increased cost of rent, meat, and milk did much to keep conditions down to the old bad level, at which some of the laboring classes still exist. The comparative irregularity of employment is difficult to estimate, but it probably remains much the same. Hours of labor are still frequently excessive, the apparent reduction being often neutralized by "overtime." House accommodation and sanitary arrangements are generally better, but as great a sum (although a smaller proportion) of overcrowding and hopeless destitution remains; the greatest factor in this continued degradation being home-work and casual labor. The improvement in the condition of the workers has invariably been the result of the substitution, in one form or another, of collective for individual control over the means of production.

**No. 131. The Decline in the Birth-rate.** By SIDNEY WEBB.  
1907.

The birth-rate in England for the last thirty years shows a 30 per cent. fall. This is not due merely to a change in the number or in the ages of persons marrying, nor confined to towns, but is specially marked where children are inconvenient (*i.e.*, where women are mill-workers and since child-labor has been more restricted), and in middle-class families. The decline is greater among the thrifty than among the general population. Statistics indicate the operation of some new cause, *i.e.*, volitional regulation. The confidential census of 316 middle-class marriages showed that in 242 cases offspring were de-

liberately limited, and that the tendency was on the increase. The cause of limitation is chiefly economic. The national census indicates that volitional regulation is at work very largely amongst all social grades except perhaps the very lowest. Hence a serious situation. Poor and alien stocks are the most fertile. If we are to avoid racial degeneration or race-suicide it becomes indispensable to alter the economic incidence of child-bearing. Infant mortality must be checked, and more care taken to rear and educate the young. The thrifty and the better classes may be effectively encouraged to breed by making the production of healthy, intelligent citizens a recognized and honored social service, duly provided for from public sources.

**No. 119. Public Control of Electric Power and Transit.**  
(No. 3 of the New Heptarchy Series.) 1905.

Transit is essentially a communal affair, affecting every industry and class, therefore it should clearly be under public control. This was not recognized at the time of the application of steam to transit, but the advent of electricity has created a situation similar to that created by the discovery of steam, and we must see that the community secures at the outset effective and systematic control over the new force. Economical generation of power and efficient administration of transit are two of the most pressing industrial problems, and are interdependent, as the production of electric power is cheap only when, in addition to a lighting load, there is a traction load. The supply of electricity, especially in bulk, is now largely in the hands of private companies, but the local authorities are the natural administrators of electrical power. The application of electricity to traction leads to economical production of power and more efficient transit both for persons and merchandise. Large further developments of traction are inevitable in the near future, such as the co-ordination of tramways and light railways, motor-car service, etc. In the local control of traction the public will possess the key to cheap electrical production.

All means of transit, from the railways downwards, should be co-ordinated under public control, and local government areas rearranged and automatically revised by a permanent boundary commission. Next must follow the formation of statutory Power and Transit Boards, composed of delegates from adjacent county and town councils; and finally a central Transit and Power Department, organized to meet modern ideas and to protect the community from monopoly in the hands of private companies.

**No. 84. The Economics of Direct Employment; with an account of the fair wages policy.** 1898. Revised 1900.

The public authorities of the United Kingdom, and especially the London County Council, have gradually developed a definite economic policy with regard to labor. In each trade the recognized standard rate of wages is paid. No adult male is given less than 6d. per hour, no adult female less than 18s. per week. The competition is in effec-

iciency, not cheapness. It would be unsound for the London County Council, responsible for the health of the community, to undermine that health by underpaying its employees. A clause is inserted in all contracts, ensuring that contractors should adopt the same principle. When possible the contractor is dispensed with altogether, the Works Department taking his place. Honest work is secured, and the contractor's profit is saved. Examples from London, Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester. The elimination of the independent contractor is the dominant fact in modern industry. Examples from railway management, shipbuilding, manufactures, etc. Of this the policy of the public authorities in dispensing with the contractor is but a manifestation.

**No. 98. State Railways for Ireland. 1899.**

Competition—which was expected to limit the extortions of railway companies—has been largely superseded by combination. Irish railway rates and fares are the highest in the world. In some parts of Ireland it is cheaper to send by road than rail, even over long distances. Farming and mining industries are thus crushed out. The management of Irish railways and the conditions of the labor employed by them are notoriously bad and costly, principally on account of the number of separate companies, each with its own board and staff. Parliamentary revision of fares has been a failure, and litigation has been useless. A comparative table of the cost of State lines and private companies' lines in various European countries shows the greater economy of State management. The Australian State railway policy has proved successful. Nationalization of the railways is the remedy for Irish railway troubles.

Bibliography.

**No. 14. The New Reform Bill. 1890.**

The draft of a bill with the object of formulating a thorough scheme for the reform of the laws regulating our electoral system, and providing for adult suffrage with minimum residential qualification, efficient registration, second ballot, simultaneous elections, abolition of plural voting, secrecy of the ballot, improvement of the conduct of elections, payment of members, triennial parliaments, etc.

**No. 82. The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906. 1907.**

The tract gives the text of this Act, with explanations and advice as to how it and previous statutes may best be made use of.

**No. 127. Socialism and Labor Policy. 1906.**

The Labor party, like any other political party, can only be kept vital by having a policy. Its policy should be: to tax the rich by means of a graduated income tax and death duties, an increased tax on excise licences, and a local and imperial rate on site values; to begin the national organization of labor; to remedy the decay of rural England by establishing a system of scientific and technical education, and co-operation; to municipalize the drink trade; to

sweep away the present poor law and establish a new system whereby the aged, the sick, the children, the unemployed and the unemployable will be separately dealt with ; to institute a system of universal pensions ; to promote secular education, with a national minimum of feeding and additional secondary and university education ; to organize a system of State arbitration in industrial disputes and a minimum wage ; and to nationalize the railways and other means of transit, including the mercantile marine, with a consequent development of the consular service. "The policy of Labor is the policy of Socialism."

#### No. 116. Fabianism and the Fiscal Question. 1904.

Socialism is international in tradition and sentiment, and Socialists are necessarily ultra-protectionists as regards the subordination of commercial enterprise to public ends. A tariff on imports is no panacea for social evils, but it is not to be exploded by the obsolete doctrines of the Cobden Club.

The case for a tariff is two-fold : imperial union and the protection of English produce. As regards the first of these, free trade within the empire has been strangled by the refusal of the colonies to admit our manufactures freely : as regards the second, protection appeals to the scientific economist because it appears to produce keen home competition ; it appeals to the manufacturer because it promises relief from foreign competition ; it appeals to the employee in trades which expect to be protected because it will stimulate the demand for labor.

The case for free trade. It ensures the automatic adjustment of national industries ; but as wages will be dislocated during the adjustment it is dangerous unless it is combined with a minimum wage law.

There is another way out, through the establishment of a national mercantile fleet, plying between the provinces of the empire, and carrying empire goods and passengers free or practically so ; nationalized railways and canals ; an unlimited parcels post ; free or very low freightage within the empire ; and consuls or trade agents all over the world to push British trade. One modern university, giving instruction in industrial and political science, would be worth ten custom-houses. There is also the bounty system to push various reforms by which a tariff might be put off. The reputation of the Liberal party is spent : the Conservatives are fashionable amateurs. Here is a chance for a Labor party.

#### No. 112. Life in the Laundry. 1902.

Through recent development in labor-saving machinery, conditions of work in many laundries have approximated to those obtaining in factories. Ordinary factory regulations, however, do not, except in a few details, apply to laundries, for which there are separate and ridiculously inadequate provisions. As a result, laundry work is frequently done on the premises of small private houses, ill-adapted for machinery, with badly-drained floors, and unventilated, overheated rooms. Regulation of the hours of labor is limited to a

maximum number of hours per week, which regulation is easily evaded, as times are not fixed. Charitable institutions and domestic laundries—*i.e.*, laundries employing not more than two outside persons—are exempted altogether. In consequence of steamy rooms and long hours of standing on wet floors, laundresses suffer from pulmonary complaints, ulcerated legs, etc. Statistics (given) of two infirmaries show that laundresses are much more liable to these diseases than women employed in other trades. The staff of inspectors is inadequate. It is recommended that the terms “factories” and “workshops” in the Factory Acts be extended to include laundries, and that stringent regulations be made and enforced with regard to general sanitary conditions.

#### **No. 48. Eight Hours by Law. 1893.**

A tract the object of which is to put the reader in possession of all the proposals on this question made up to the date of its publication, with considerations for and against them. The real question is whether each trade shall win the eight hour day separately for itself, or whether a general law shall impose it, at one stroke, on all trades.

The Fabian Society suggests the establishment of an administrative body to draw up (without further reference to Parliament) such regulations for each trade as shall secure to the workers in it the benefit of an eight hours working day.

The most important schemes at present under discussion are :

The Trade Inquiry scheme (endorsed by the Fabian Society).

The Universal Compulsory Bill.

Trade Option, and Mr. Mather's modification of this.

Trade Exemption schemes.

Local Trade Option.

All these schemes are explained and discussed at length in the tract.

#### **No. 23. The Case for an Eight Hours Bill. 1891.**

The demand for an eight hours day arises mainly from a desire on the part of the wage-earners for additional opportunities for self-cultivation and enjoyment of life. An investigation of the hours of work on tramways, railways, in shops, small factories, mines, etc., shows that there is little of such opportunity at present for the great mass of workers. Voluntary concessions from individual employers are unlikely, owing to their fear of competition; public opinion has proved ineffectual; and Trade Union action (their only effective instrument being a strike) necessarily cruel. Existing legislative action shows that an eight hours day does not necessarily lower wages, nor diminish production, nor cause capital to be sent abroad, nor destroy personal independence. Individual action being powerless, government interference is necessary.

#### **No. 47. The Unemployed. By JOHN BURNS, M.P. 1893.**

The unemployed of to-day, owing to increased education, political enfranchisement and economic knowledge, recognize their grievance, and that work is the only remedy. Reform, under a competitive

form of society, can only be palliative, unemployment being a necessary corollary of such a system. The immediate question is the concentration of existing charitable and relief agencies. This cannot be done by the individual, but is a collective social and municipal duty. The system of obtaining unemployment statistics should be improved, Trade Union returns being incomplete; and the only reliable method of doing this is by the establishment of labor bureaux. Until such bureaux are established, representative relief committees in each county council area should be formed to provide useful work and non-pauperizing relief. Much of the evil could be avoided by the reorganization of public works, by abolishing contracts, home-work, and sweating; by establishing a regular transferable staff; by a maximum working day, overtime being done by extra men; and by raising the age of child labor, and excluding married women from factories. But these reforms will be useless unless rural depopulation is stopped and popular control extended. Labor colonies, unemployed settlements, elevators, farm colonies, municipal workshops, and such like are foredoomed to failure.

**No. 83. State Arbitration and the Living Wage: with an account of the New Zealand and Victorian laws and their results. 1898.**

A scheme for the settlement of trade disputes by arbitration of official courts rather than by the old clumsy and extravagant method of strikes and lock-outs. The attempt to do this by the Conciliation Act, 1896, failed because the Act was not compulsory. Compulsory arbitration in New Zealand has resulted in an almost complete cessation of strikes. In 1900 Victoria adopted the New Zealand system in preference to wage boards then existing; and it was also adopted in New South Wales and West Australia. This system assumes the right of the State to interfere in trade disputes, in the interest of persons affected outside the dispute. To be of use the decisions of arbitration courts should be enforceable by law. This would result in regulation of wages by law, leading to a standard living wage for each trade. Local boards with appeal to a board of the whole trade, all expenses to be borne by public funds, are recommended as the best scheme for this country. (Compare Fabian Tract No. 48, "Eight Hours by Law.")

Authorities.

**No. 130. Home-work and Sweating: the Causes and the Remedies. By Miss B. L. HUTCHINS. 1907.**

The characteristics of sweating are low wages, long hours, insanitary workplaces, and lack of organization. Sweated workers are sweated because, by reason of sex, age, infirmity, or the absence of combination among themselves, they have to let their work go cheap. Sweating may pay the sweater, because little capital is needed, and the requirements of the Factory Acts can be evaded; but the community is heavily burdened in poor relief and physical deterioration. The present law is ineffectual to fix the responsibility on the employer.

Little can be hoped for from consumers' leagues or trade union labels. Import duties or immigration laws are no cure. Success has been obtained only by the wages boards of Australia and the arbitration courts of New Zealand. Efficient sanitary inspection of outworkers' homes is required; also amendment of the Truck Acts. Wages must be regulated by law. Methods discussed. Following the example of the Army Clothing Factory, direct employment by the government and the municipality should be extended, and wages clauses inserted in all public contracts, with careful inspection to prevent evasion.

List of books.

**No. 124. State Control of Trusts.** By H. W. MACROSTY.  
1905.

The failure of anti-trust legislation. The cause of trusts is not the tariff, but excessive competition and the desire to realize economies by large-scale production. This is a natural development of competition, the benefits of which are thereby neutralized. Large combinations have an advantage in the power to compete unfairly in some markets by means of cutting prices and rebates, while keeping up prices in markets where they have a monopoly. Anti-trust combinations are generally unsuccessful on account of the diverse interests of members; whilst ameliorative measures, such as State regulation of prices and the guarantee of a minimum wage, are ineffectual to stop the development of trusts. Consumers are confronted with the alternative of private monopoly or public management—the only efficient method of public control. There is no effective defence against an international trust except nationalization.

Recent books on trusts.

**No. 107. Socialism for Millionaires.** By BERNARD SHAW.  
1901.

Owing to the fact that the customs of the masses now rule the market, the millionaire is forced to live nine-tenths of his life as other men live theirs, and is less than ever able to spend his money on himself: almsgiving, whether to his children or others, exposes the recipient to the risk of demoralization; and he can only found a family at the risk of having his aim finally defeated by the income-tax collector. All that the intelligent millionaire can do is to give his children a first-rate equipment of education and reasonable capital. He should never endow hospitals, as that entails pauperization of the ratepayers, irresponsibility, and waste; and in education he should help only experiments in method and new subjects. Societies, in the nature of vigilance committees or for intelligent propaganda, sometimes deserve assistance. He should never do anything, either for the public or the individual, which the public can be made to do for itself. His work is to create new needs; the old ones will take care of themselves.



### III.—SOCIALISM AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

**No. 99. Local Government in Ireland.** 1900.

An explanation of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, giving the powers of county, urban, and rural district councils, with an appeal for Socialism as the only remedy for the wrongs of Ireland.

**No. 125. Municipalization by Provinces.** (No. 1 of the New Heptarchy Series.) 1905.

The narrowness of the present local government areas is cramping the growth of the collective control of industry. Larger administrative areas are needed for such activities as the provision of electric light, water, tramways, and other means of transit. Wider areas are more economical, and facilitate permanent employment. London and other cities and large towns should be allowed to control their own development and extend their municipal boundaries for such purposes as housing, etc. Provincial boards of very wide administrative area—possibly seven for the whole of England—are suggested for the control of water, transit, and electricity. These should be elected by the local authorities within their own area, and should be responsible to a special department of the Local Government Board. The organized life of the community is much hampered by lack of flexibility and expansiveness in its administration. The first necessity of a publicly controlled industry or service is that of every infant, namely, room to grow.

**No. 54. The Humanizing of the Poor Law.** By J. F. OAKESHOTT. 1894. Third Edition, Revised, 1905.

A brief history of the attempts to deal with pauperism, with a description of the evils of the present system and a scheme for the revision of the poor law in the light of modern knowledge and ideas. Bibliography.

**No. 62. Parish and District Councils: what they are and what they can do.** 1895. Third Edition, Revised. 1907.

An exhaustive account of the constitutions and powers of parish councils, parish meetings, urban district councils, rural district councils, and boards of guardians.

**No. 44. A Plea for Poor Law Reform.** (Leaflet.) 1892. Revised 1907.

Gives the number of paupers in London and the United Kingdom, with a summary of some needed reforms.

**No. 126. The Abolition of Poor Law Guardians.** (No. 5 of the New Heptarchy Series.) 1906.

The guardians have two chief peculiarities: they are, with trifling exceptions, the only remaining "ad hoc" bodies, and the

areas they control are the only ones bearing no organic relation to other areas of local government.

Poor law philosophy has passed through four stages: 1st, "The Profitable Workhouse Plan"; 2nd, "The Rate in Aid of Wages"; 3rd, "Self-sufficiency of Individualism"; 4th, "Communal Provision adapted to Special Needs," the rapidly approaching ideal. But out of date ideas still dominate many guardians, making a thorough reorganization of the machinery necessary. The "ad hoc" election should be abolished; the areas of local government simplified; the whole administration merged in the several committees of the county and county borough councils dealing with the different services; poor law as a separate department put an end to, thus removing the danger of obnoxious administration of old age pensions and the clumsy joint machinery for dealing with unemployment. Women should be made eligible as county and borough councillors, sitting for other besides poor law purposes, and should be added by co-option whenever not elected in due proportion.

#### IV.—SOCIALISM AND COUNTRY LIFE.

**No. 115. State Aid to Agriculture: an Example.** By T. S. DYMOND. 1903.

In Hungary the assistance afforded to agriculture by Protection is unimportant. Nearly the whole population is directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture. Every forward movement is deliberately initiated by the Government, the people following. The Government maintains a comprehensive system of institutions to provide agricultural education, and to promote development by experimental and research work. It also leads the way in the commercial development of agriculture. By its efforts fruit culture has been generally adopted in the almost barren districts of the plain. Comprehensive aid has been given in stock breeding and dairying. Afforestation is made compulsory under certain circumstances; but proprietors can, if they wish, give the land over to State management. A labor bureau exists, lists of employers and employed being kept in each district. Workers get a fifty per cent. reduction in train fares. Libraries, etc., are established, and a fund for insurance against accident, sickness, and old age.

In this country agricultural education and development need systematization and centralization. Deafforestation should be prevented and reafforestation encouraged. Depôts for agricultural produce and agricultural labor bureaux should be established.

**No. 134. Small Holdings, Allotments, and Common Pastures: and how to get them.** (Leaflet.) 1907.

A brief account of the Act of 1907, with an explanation of its working and advice as to how it may best be made use of.

**No. 136. The Village and the Landlord.** By EDWARD  
CARPENTER. 1907.

Mr. Carpenter takes as his text a country village with an agricultural population of about five hundred, and describes in detail its financial conditions; the burden of rent, rates, and of sports—such as shooting and hunting—upon the farmers; the enclosure of commons; and other reasons of agricultural decay. He suggests as remedies the public ownership of land, to be divided into small holdings, with reasonable security of tenure, and agricultural co-operation; and, as immediate steps, the re-transfer of the old common lands and a declaration of land values.

**No. 123. The Revival of Agriculture: a National Policy for Great Britain.** (No. 4 of the New Heptarchy Series.) 1905.

The breakdown of private enterprise in agriculture has left us with landlords and farmers impoverished and a large market supplied by foreign producers. Lack of organization has been the chief cause of our failure. Low wages and bad conditions drive laborers to the already overcrowded towns. The success of continental producers and of our colonies depends on co-operation. To secure better use of our resources and increase agricultural population, it is necessary that the State interfere.

*Ameliorative Measures.*—Agricultural courts to secure a living wage to laborers and to fix rents based on the capabilities of production of the land under normal conditions.

*Constructive Measures.*—An agricultural committee in each county council area, with powers compulsorily to purchase land for division into small holdings to be let on short leases, and to advance loans for the purchase of stock and machinery. Such committees would encourage association for the purchase of machinery, and assist co-operation in the marketing of produce. Finally, if the most is to be made of our resources, technical education for the laborer is of extreme importance.

**No. 118. The Secret of Rural Depopulation.** By Lieut.-Col.  
D. C. PEDDER. 1904.

Before the days of the Agricultural Laborers' Union starvation and oppression had made the laborer apathetically indifferent to his conditions. The union widened his horizon. The better men began to escape to the rapidly overcrowding towns. The process has been going on steadily since.

There are no inducements to stay in the village under present conditions. Wages are far below town standards; cottages often not fit to live in, and only held during employment, terminable at the master's pleasure. There is a dearth of recreation grounds; no appeal against petty tyranny; bad and dear shops; local government in the hands of the great farmers; and a magistracy filled by representatives of the landed interest. No hope. The self-interest of the

great farmer blocks the way to reform. The remedies are a change of management, small holdings in the place of large farms, decent cottages for laborers with fixity of tenure, and co-operation among the men. But "the great farmer stops the way."

**No. 137. Parish Councils and Village Life. 1908.**

The assertion that parish councils have done nothing for the poor is untrue. This tract gives in precise detail examples of hundreds of cases in which valuable improvements have been secured by these councils. Many have made, in the face of interested opposition, good use of their powers to buy and let allotments and small holdings; to provide common pasture, recreation grounds, burial grounds, parish halls, street lighting, libraries, and bathing places; to appoint trustees of parish charities; and to improve roads and drainage. Several councils have recovered enclosed common land. In cases when the parish council is not empowered to act, local authorities have been persuaded or compelled to build cottages, provide a pure water supply, and ensure healthy sanitary conditions. Many instances and an account of the work of four parish councils show what may be done. Even with their restricted powers great improvement can be made by parish councils in village life if the right men are chosen. If there is not a good council in any parish, the electors should take care to get one at the next election.

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**V.—SOCIALISM AND RELIGION.**

**No. 139. Socialism and the Churches. By Rev. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D. 1908.**

Socialism is here defined as "a movement, a tendency, a pushing forward of the inner soul of humanity towards its predestined goal." The essential thing in Socialism is its spirit: it is an ethical and religious movement. Its working idea is explained, and illustrated by the case of the Post Office. Socialism seeks to create a State which shall exist for all and be served by all: it will not leave things to chance: it expects thought: it is becoming statesmanlike and scientific: leaving behind its revolutionary and doctrinaire elements. It is not a class movement: all classes and creeds alike confess its obligations: the whole civilized world is gradually making room for it. It is the plan of God. Socialism in the soul of it is divine. It is incredible that any of the churches of Jesus Christ should be indifferent or in opposition to it. The churches are beginning to realize this and to know that they cannot hold aloof from the movement. It is their part, while bearing unflinching testimony to their own truths, to insist upon the spiritual side of Socialism. Soul is supreme in the life of man. The churches must take care that this social movement is not narrowed down to the economic side of life. It is

theirs to uphold it—not apart from the economists, evolutionists, professors and teachers, but with them. You cannot re-mould society out of illiteracy, indiscipline, intemperance and selfishness; therefore the churches must stir and illuminate the conscience, create good and healthy opinion, turn opinion into criticism, and criticism into action.

**No. 133. Socialism and Christianity.** By Rev. PERCY DEARMER.  
1907.

Socialism is Christianity. By the Incarnation, labor was given its true position, because Christ came as a working man, and proclaimed the unity of the whole human race. There are four prominent forms of Christ's teaching. (i) His signs: He devoted himself to fighting disease and premature death, and to teaching men to increase the comfort of life and its merriment. (ii) His parables: which deal with social questions and attack moneymaking. (iii) His Sermon: which condemns religious individualism for its self-righteous censorship, its parade of charity, and its love of cant. (iv) His Prayer: in the Lord's prayer all ten parts are social, not individual. The whole of Christ's life and work teaches brotherhood and justice to all men, which is the essence of Socialism. Christ always denounced the rich; and the identity of true religion with true Socialism is shown clearly in the Christian teaching about riches. The first Christians lived as communists, and the Church is pledged to Christian Socialism. Socialists and Christians have the same ends in view.

**No. 42. Christian Socialism.** By Rev. STEWART D. HEADLAM.  
1892.

The teaching of Christ is more concerned with the establishment of a righteous society on earth than with "other-worldliness." We see this in his miracles, which were secular, Socialistic works (for health against disease, subduing nature to human good, for the extermination of premature death); also in his parables, comparisons between what he saw happening around him and the Kingdom of Heaven (the righteous society to be established on earth). The teaching drawn from such sayings as "Blessed are ye poor," or "The poor ye have always with you," by non-Socialists, is fallacious, as it contradicts the rest of his works and teachings. Christ intended the Church to carry on throughout the world the works which he did on a small scale in Palestine. St. Paul and St. James, two of the first leaders of the Church, speak and write upon secular, Socialistic questions, supporting the claim of the laborer to his product. Again, baptism and holy communion, the two permanent institutions of the Church, are both sacraments of brotherhood, and the Church catechism is aimed against the evil of one man living on another's labor. Although the Church is at present gagged and fettered, churchmen can unite with Socialists in getting better education for children, an eight hours day, and, above all, by getting the land, which is the main means by which material wealth is produced, out of the hands of the monopolizers, and making it the property of the people.

**No. 78. Socialism and the Teaching of Christ.** By the  
Rev. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D. 1897.

The contention that Christianity is concerned with higher things than capital and labor is flat Paganism, whether made by the Pope or by Professor Flint. Christians have always condemned individual selfishness, and they are at last beginning to recognize the evils of social selfishness. Some go so far as to give personal service, and advocate such remedies as co-operative production; but they stick at Socialism, that is the collective ownership of the material instruments of production. This collectivism is possible: it would remove many of the evils of society, and offer a better environment for the development of Christ's teaching. It would lift competition on to a higher plane, and secure leisure for the cultivation of character. It would render unnecessary that pursuit of personal wealth which Christ forbade: would foster a more Christian conception of industry and that ordered liberty which reconciles the claims of the individual and the State. A Bibliography of Christian Socialism to 1897 and notes of Christian Socialist Societies are added.

**No. 72. The Moral Aspects of Socialism.** By SIDNEY BALL.  
1896.

The aim of modern Socialism is the development of human capacity. The "ideology" of the older Socialists has given way to a deliberately scientific treatment of life. Socialism does not endeavor to eliminate "competition" from life, but to raise its plane; to make it a competition of character and positive social quality. It affirms, while Individualism denies, a standard. The poor law system is not a concession to Socialism, but a device to bolster up Individualism. Modern combination in business has made the question one between public and private monopoly. Only by selection can public organization of industry prevail. The idea of Socialism is the improvement of society by society; not pity nor benevolence, but the fullest and freest development of human quality and power. It raises international rivalry from a non-moral to a moral stage. Socialism, dismissed now as mere machinery, now as mere morality, may be working towards a higher synthesis. Socialists do not reject the idea of private property, but demand some opportunity for its realization. The central conception underlying the morality and religion of the future will be that of the solidarity of mankind.

**No. 79. A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich.** By JOHN WOOLMAN. 1897.

John Woolman was born in New England in 1720. He was a Quaker, and is best known as an advocate of the cause of the slaves. He saw the evils of private property in land, and that the idleness and luxury of the rich involves more work for the poor than divine love intended. In the present tract he argues this with great clearness, but with great gentleness and mildness.

## VI.—SOCIALISM AND MUNICIPALIZATION.

**No. 86. Municipal Drink Traffic.** 1898. Fourth Edition, Revised, 1905.

(This tract deals with the political aspect of the drink question.)

The Local Veto Bill of 1895 was crude and unworkable. American experience shows that, except in rural districts, prohibition fails, and that it has evil moral effects. Local veto is a class measure by means of which the richer districts protect themselves at the expense of the poorer. It does not affect slum districts, where a reduction in licences is most needed. The voting tends to be unstable. Local option for reduction of licences is also undesirable; both theoretically and because, like local veto, it tends to increase the influence of liquor dealers in politics. In a licence the State confers a valuable property, which it should retain in its own hands. The Bishops' Bill of 1893, threefold option, and Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of 1877 are discussed. Municipal management is for Socialists the ultimate solution. Fixing the ratio of licences to population, high licences, the establishment of a representative licensing authority, and municipal control are practicable and real reforms. Profits made by the municipal authority should be earmarked for special purposes. The Licensing Act of 1904 described.

List of books.

**No. 85. Liquor Licensing at Home and Abroad.** By E. R. PEASE. 1898.

Licensing legislation has existed in England since Edward VI. To remedy drunkenness both repression and freedom in trading have been tried; but moderate measures alone have had any success.

On the Continent the systems vary widely—from France, where a licence is granted automatically on a small payment, to Switzerland, where the retailing of spirits is a government monopoly. Success of the Gothenburg system. Varieties of laws in the U. S. A. Our own licensing law is antiquated. The average value of a London licence is £1,350. Three houses out of four are tied. Compensation discussed.

List of books.

**No. 122. Municipal Milk and Public Health.** By F. LAWSON DODD. 1905.

To ensure purity and cheapness it was necessary to municipalize the water supply. Is this not necessary with milk? Infant mortality is as high as it was fifty years ago; breast feeding is on the decline; and a cheap, clean, and wholesome milk supply is essential. Not only science, but even common cleanliness, is, as a rule, absent in dairy farms to-day. Resulting epidemic diseases. Preservatives are necessitated by the dirty methods employed. Their evil effects. The nation pays £240,000 annually for water used in diluting milk. The methods of distribution are as bad as those of production.

Legislative and administrative attempts to remedy the evil have failed. The certification of milk by the local authority is advantageous, but most consumers cannot pay the higher price necessary. The advantages of municipally controlled depôts are shown at Liverpool, Battersea, and elsewhere. Valuable experience has also been gained by private experiments. The only satisfactory solution is municipalization, *i.e.*, the substitution of the public health motive for that of private financial gain.

Bibliography.

**No. 138. Municipal Trading. 1908.**

Municipal undertakings are roughly divisible into two kinds: non-revenue producing and revenue producing. The latter only can correctly be called "municipal trading." The former are responsible for nearly half the amount of municipal debt in the country, and for nearly the whole of the much talked of "burden of the rates." The balance of debt is really capital in a commercial sense. Municipal enterprise is often said to be a failure on the ground that it shows small profits. This is a mistake, since the aim of municipal trading is not to make profits, but to provide sound and cheap commodities. Moreover, municipalities undertake necessary work (such as housing) which does not offer sufficient return on capital to attract the private contractor. Interest on borrowed capital, which is usually considered profit, is not so put down in municipal accounts. At the same time, figures from Parliamentary returns show, on the whole, a net profit on municipal enterprises. Municipalities have an advantage over the private trader in that they can borrow large sums at low rates of interest, and that the regularity of the employment offered secures the services of first class professional men at low salaries. The success of municipal trading, however, depends on the character and capacity of the councillors; and so, finally, on the electors. The burden of the rates should be relieved by the taxation of ground values.

**FABIAN MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.**

- No. 32. Municipalization of Gas Supply. 1891.
- No. 37. A Labor Policy for Public Authorities. 1891.  
Revised 1899.
- No. 90. Municipalization of Milk Supply. 1899. Revised  
1902.
- No. 91. Municipal Pawnshops. 1899.
- No. 92. Municipal Slaughterhouses. 1899.
- No. 93. Women as Councillors. 1900.
- No. 94. Municipal Bakeries. 1900.
- No. 95. Municipal Hospitals. 1900.
- No. 97. Municipal Steamboats. 1901.



## VII.—SOCIALISM AND HOUSING.

**No. 76. Houses for the People.** 1897. Fourth Edition, Revised, 1906.

A summary of the powers of local authorities under the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, 1890-1903, and the use which has been and can be made of them.

**No. 109. Cottage Plans and Common Sense.** By RAYMOND UNWIN. (With nine plates by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin.) 1902.

Suggestions for municipalities. The chief needs of a house are air and sunshine, and space for the living rooms. Back yards and projections are undesirable. Open space can be provided by grouping cottages round quadrangles. The importance of the living room. Other parts of the house considered in detail. Co-operation should be encouraged by the provision of common laundries, baths, reading-rooms, etc. The importance of a communal centre.

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## VIII.—THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

**No. 41. The Fabian Society: its early history.** By G. BERNARD SHAW. 1892.

A stirring account of the difficulties and adventures of the Fabian Society in its early days: its purging of the Anarchist element, and the founding of the Fabian Parliamentary League as the outcome of the recognition of the need for political action and the development of the policy of permeation. Fabian tactics and the tactics of the S. D. F. are discussed, and it is shown how a class-war theory which excludes the majority of the middle and professional classes from the ranks of the workers is not "scientific Socialism" but class prejudice. It is suggested that the workers must be represented by men of their own class, and that the task of the Fabian Society is to organize the middle-class for political action and for the support of middle-class Socialist candidates.

**No. 70. Report on Fabian Policy.** 1896.

A description of Fabian aims and policy in short, telling paragraphs with cross-headings. Perhaps the most useful of the tracts to the enquirer who wishes to know "what Fabianism is." It concludes with a series of resolutions on some of the most important questions of the day presented to the Congress of 1896.

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## IX.—SOCIALISM AND BOOKS.

**No. 132. A Guide to Books for Socialists.** 1907.

A brief descriptive summary of the best books for a general study of Socialism.

**No. 29. What to Read on Social and Economic Subjects.**  
1891. Revised Edition 1901.

A classified list of the best books on all subjects important to the progressive politician and social student.

**No. 129. More Books to Read.** 1906.

A supplement to No. 29, being a list of books issued between 1901 and 1906.

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## X.—SOCIALISM AND ELECTIONS.

**No. 64. How to Lose and how to Win an Election.**  
1895.

A Leaflet for candidates.

### QUESTIONS FOR CANDIDATES FOR THE FOLLOWING BODIES.

**No. 20. Poor Law Guardians.** 1890. Revised 1900.

**No. 28. County Councils, Rural.** 1891. Revised 1895.

**No. 102. Metropolitan Borough Councils.** 1900.

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## XI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

**No. 104. How Trade Unions Benefit Workmen.** 1900.

Specially prepared for trade unionist propaganda, with space for printing particulars of any union.

### FABIAN BOOKS.

**Fabian Essays in Socialism.** Edited by BERNARD SHAW. Seven Essays, giving a comprehensive account of the Theory of Socialism. Published in 1889. Forty thousand sold. Paper, 1s.; cloth, 2s.; post free.

**This Misery of Boots.** By H. G. WELLS. 1907. Foolscap 8vo, pictorial cover. Paper, 3d., post free, 4d.; or 2s. 3d. per dozen, post free, 2s. 7d.

**Fabianism and the Fiscal Question: an Alternative Policy.** Edited by BERNARD SHAW. 1904. 1s., post free. (Thick paper edition of Tract No. 116.)

**Fabianism and the Empire: a Manifesto.** Edited by BERNARD SHAW. 1900. 1s.; post free, 1s. 1½d.

**Fabian Tracts** (bound). Complete set of those in print, as set out below. 1 vol. Buckram, 4s. 6d.; post free, 5s.

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